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Post-conflict tourism opportunity spectrum (POCTOS): a framework for destinations recovering from conflict

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ABSTRACT

Scholarly debate around phoenix tourism offers destination managers scope to chart out the nature of early recovery for those regions that have endured protracted conflict. This provides an opportunity to be able to transition destinations to a more developed and normalised state where tourism is viewed as both a catharsis for communities to heal and a wider tool for economic development. The authors propose in this article a visitor management framework (POCTOS) that focuses on the potential opportunity that exists in post-conflict regions and how that can change and mature over time. Recovery can be deliberately linked to re-packaging the past conflict as tourism experience or not. POCTOS is shaped by concepts such as the life-cycle model, tourism as a form of destination development, destination resilience, and destination capacity toward change. The framework presents "opportunity factors" that are tourist-centric as well as management centric. POCTOS is conceptual and has not been applied in this article to any particular case study. The authors, however, encourage that it be operationalized by researchers to determine its utility as a destination development managerial tool for post-conflict destinations.

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Introduction

There has been considerable growing attention for research that discusses tourism in a post-conflict context. This growing and disparate body of scholarly literature has examined marketing strategies (e.g. Arnaud, 2016), sustainable tourism practices (e.g. Castillo-Palacio et al., 2017; Novelli et al., 2012), branding and image (e.g. Seraphin, 2018; Skoko et al., 2018; Vitic & Ringer, 2008), the development of niche products, in particular, dark and political tourism (e.g. Slivková & Bucher, 2017), as well as non-dark products and services (e.g. Devine et al., 2017; Devine & Quinn, 2019). Post-conflict tourism has also been examined from the perspective of developing recovery frameworks (e.g. Reddy et al., 2020). This paper adds to the latter research trend.

This conceptual article examines the nature of opportunity that may exist for destinations that have endured a protracted period of conflict but where tourism was present pre-conflict.

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Discourse is offered against the wider backdrop of: (1) understanding the relationship between conflict, peace and tourism, (2) post-conflict tourism and, (3) phoenix tourism to develop a framework that is designed to be useful for Destination Management and Marketing Organisations (DMMOs) responsible for the recovery of tourism in post-conflict settings. The overall aim of the article is to propose this framework entitled Post-Conflict Tourism Opportunity Spectrum (POCTOS), which identifies a range of critical opportunity factors that need to be considered if tourism is to recover post-conflict. These include, destination safety and security, understanding how tourists perceive post-conflict destinations, the type and diversity of tourism attractions, markets and market range, the level of investment committed, industry size and governance structures in place, and the level of resilience and inbuilt capacity to adapt to change.

Several caveats are noted at the outset of this article. First, the authors adopt a predominantly "business – economic" view of tourism development as the framework has been designed to be used by managers. Tourism is seen as a form of regional economic development but the authors recognise that destinations are not homogeneous entities and that they are made up of many different actors and stakeholders. In many post-conflict contexts, early forms of tourism are often non-economic and community-driven with emphasis on memory-making and reconciliation. The POCTOS framework is designed to reflect both perspectives. The authors recognise that destination managers need to involve communities as key stakeholders in their governance structures to facilitate tourism development.

Second, the framework borrows the evolutionary thinking associated with life-cycle models, in particular the Tourism Area Life Cycle (Butler, 2006). While accepting that life-cycle models such as Butler's have been criticised for its simplicity, its assumption of a unilinear development trajectory and weak predictive power (Haywood, 1986; Johnston, 2001a, 2001b), they are useful from a planning and development point of view. In a post-conflict perspective, they offer management a set of clear criteria that need to be considered at different stages of a destinations' recovery that describes the nature and extent of tourism development that may potentially occur over time. In line with life-cycle thinking, the framework sets out possible descriptors of criteria for post-conflict destinations that are in a "Phoenix" stage, a "Hybrid" stage or a "Normalised" stage of development. The framework can then be viewed according to a number of scenarios, where destinations choose to transition from an early phoenix state to a normalized state, or where they move out of conflict to a hybrid development stage before moving toward normalization. These scenarios are developed in this paper alongside a wider description of the POCTOS framework.

Third, POCTOS builds on a recognised visitor management framework, namely the "opportunity spectrum" (Hall & Lew, 2009), designed for public sector managers and DMMOs and which have been industry-applied. The authors present the POCTOS framework here against that background of existing opportunity spectrums designed for different types of tourism (adventure tourism, ecotourism, indigenous tourism, and urban tourism). Here the authors apply "opportunity spectrum" thinking to an actual state of tourism development, in this case a post-conflict one.

Relationship between conflict, peace and tourism

A review of the extant literature reveals this relationship to be a complex one. Understanding this relationship and the different lines of inquiry is important as it provides the building blocks against which the POCTOS framework is developed.

Conflict – the opposite of peace

Conflict as the opposite of peace, and peacefulness (e.g. Moufakkir & Kelly, 2010) is well established in scholarly literature. Peace entails the absence of war, acts of terrorism and random violence. It requires the presence of justice. Salazar (2006) was one of the earliest to note that

Table 1. Aspects of peacefulness and peace connected to tourism.

Aspect	Tourism type and focus
Democracy	Political tourism, boycott/buy
Conflict	Reconciliation tourism, peace parks, places of peace, tourism borders, dark tourism
Prejudice	Cross-cultural understanding, quality encounters
Poverty	Pro-poor tourism, volunteer tourism, community-based tourism
Integration	Social tourism, domestic tourism, heritage tourism, cultural tourism
Inequality	Tourism education, education for peace
Climate change	Sustainable tourism, tourism ethics

Source: Modified after Moufakkir and Kelly (2010).

peace involves the forging of peaceful relationships, and that this can be between nations, groups, communities, individuals, as well as between people and nature. Peace has been recognised to be a hierarchical concept, where negative peace (i.e. absence of physical violence) is followed by positive peace (two or more parties work together for mutual benefit) and finally participatory peace (peace-working is achieved through dialogue and democracy) (Moufakkir & Kelly, 2010).

A number of paradigms of thought have emerged over the years regarding the relationship between tourism and peace. Is tourism an agent of peace or the beneficiary of peace? The former is built on contact theory or forced integration and that social interaction among diverse groups positively changes attitudes towards and improves relations between interacting members. Scholars have held to the view that international tourism has the potential to reduce prejudice, and bridge cultural differences where every responsible tourist could potentially be an ambassador for peace. Edgell (2014, p. 39) referred to travel as the "language of peace." Gelbman and Timothy (2010) observed that past boundaries were once noted for instability and conflict have since been transformed through tourism by the development of heritage and historical attractions in border areas. This transformation of border space may contribute to preserving and encouraging lasting relations of peace and cooperation. Global tourism policy by the UNWTO over time has, however, helped to advocate that tourism can be a vital force for peace (Salazar, 2006). This was also evidenced in the Manila Declaration, 1980; the Tourism Bill of Rights, 1983; and the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism, 1999. Table 1 illustrates how elements of peacefulness and peace can be linked to specific types of tourism, and in doing so suggest that tourism has the potential to contribute to peace in a multiplicity of ways.

However, post-conflict destinations develop a unique set of tourism types, many of which are often shaped out of the conflict itself. There is scope for attractions and types of tourism to remain narrow and reflect a re-packaging of the conflict for present day tourists to consume. In our development of the POCTOS framework we argue the need to diversify the attraction base over time.

In contrast, the latter point of view is that of tourism as a beneficiary of peace (Haeusler et al., 2019; Khalilzadeh, 2018; Litvin, 1998, 2020; McKercher & Prideaux, 2014). Litvin (1998) argued that a co-relationship existed between tourism and peace. This position has remained unchanged two decades on where relationship building between host and guest enables interaction as opposed to generating real understanding (Litvin, 2020). Others hold the view that destinations are presented to tourists. They visit a place (front stage) and rarely get to know a place (backstage) and so passive encounters help to reinforce negative stereotypical prejudices (Isaac et al., 2019; Patrick, 2019). Khalilzadeh (2018) suggested that it is unlikely for tourists to visit a destination toward they hold negative attitudes. The potential interaction between host and guest is therefore a lost opportunity as it will not occur in the first place. Haeusler et al. (2019) in their discussion of tourism in Myanmar, argued that economic development and the identification of income-generating opportunities that benefit the local population are prerequisites to support and consolidate the peace-building process. Tourism does not bring peace, instead peace can facilitate tourist flow. Timothy (2019) recently observed that in areas of direct conflict

(e.g. Jammu & Kashmir, and South China Sea) tourism can act to intensify hostility between parties as the nature of tourism development can be viewed in a negative and hostile manner by the other State. Government action is often a bigger instigator of peace than visiting tourists dialogue with the host population. As a result, viable types of tourism as shown in Table 1 are initiated by government and private enterprises that result from being the beneficiary of peace. The nature of governance in post-conflict destinations is an important factor in how post-conflict societies are presented to tourists. The authors argue the importance of community-driven initiatives in the POCTOS framework and that the affected communities are an important stakeholder in governance structures.

Conflict spectrum

The nature of conflict itself is recognised to traverse a broad spectrum including civil unrest, coups, terrorism and war (Butler & Suntikul, 2013; Isaac et al., 2019; Pizam & Mansfeld, 1996). At the top end of the spectrum, wars have been recognised as a constraint but also an opportunity for tourism (Butler & Suntikul, 2013). The negative implications of warfare, loss of lives, and rapid decline of tourism demand and revenue have been well-documented (Isaac et al., 2019; Vukonic, 1997). Smith (1998) observed that war-related sites are one of the most popular visitor attraction categories. At a localised scale battlefield sites have become scenes that are quickly "visited" shortly after the battles ceased. For instance, Waterloo and the battles fought in Flanders during the First World War (Miles, 2013; Seaton, 1999). Timothy (2013), writing in the context of territorial conflicts, recognised that tourism is often used by governments as a political tool. In some instances the territorial war itself can become tourist attractions as people seek out the places that are familiar to them through different media channels, and become what Smith (1998) termed "geopolitical travellers."

Scholarly attention has also focused on the stages of conflict from a tourist visitation perspective. For instance, Butler (2019) applied a three-stage approach where he linked tourist visitation to zones of conflict on the basis of the relative stage of conflict development and the nature of the conflict that is occurring in the destination. These stages are namely pre-conflict, during conflict and post-conflict where the latter stage can often cover conflicts that have just recently occurred as well as ones that have taken place many centuries ago. He noted that when all three stages are considered, essentially all tourism is involved. With regard to the second stage "during conflict," scholars have examined tourist motivation behind visits to active conflict sites, including the level of accepted risk involved (e.g. Ladarman, 2013), appeal of the conflict as attraction (e.g. Isaac, 2013), and solidarity for those directly affected (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008). Butler (2019) subdivided the "during conflict" stage into internal and external conflict. The former involving actions within a region such as civil war, terrorism, and acts of independence whereas the latter involves actions external or impacting on a region such as invasion or border disputes. The "post-conflict" stage noted by Butler (2019) and others (e.g. Boyd, 2013) is discussed later in this article. The authors, in developing the POCTOS framework, have borrowed the three stages of conflict thinking as it offers scope to relate factors across and within stages.

Conflict linked to crises and disaster

Conflict research has been debated as part of a wider domain of crises and human-induced disasters. Scholars have also recognised conflict to be a form of crisis, but one that is human-induced, often creating a context that is difficult, chaotic and unpredictable (Faulkner, 2001; McKercher, 1999; Reddy et al., 2020; Ritchie, 2004). Crises have been recognised to be variable in their nature, geographical context, intensity, duration, impact and recovery time (Cohen & Cohen, 2015; Hall, 2010). In many cases naturally occurring disasters (with the exception of

epidemics and outbreaks) have short-term fluctuations in tourism flow as often the impact is on repair of physical plant and infrastructure. In contrast, human-induced crises such as political turmoil and instability are more often of longer duration and their impact more significant in terms length of time it takes for destinations to fully recover (World Travel & Tourism Council – WTTC, 2019). A plethora of natural disaster management frameworks have emerged over the years that set out definable stages of recovery (e.g. Faulkner, 2001; Ritchie, 2004; Wearing et al., 2020). In the case of crises that involve human-induced disasters often associated with long-term political instability and turmoil (Colombia, Sri Lanka, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Jammu & Kashmir, and Northern Ireland, to name a few) three), recovery is unpredictably slow, incremental and evolutionary. Definable stages are not easily recognizable other than the shift away from focusing tourism around the past conflict. This article argues that an opportunity spectrum approach, discussed later, is more beneficial as it offers destination stakeholders possible scenarios of potential change over time. The bespoke POCTOS framework that is designed for post-conflict context is therefore a useful tool that destinations can use as they recover from conflict.

Impacts of conflict on destinations and tourists

A substantial body of research has focused on the impact that conflicts have had on destinations and tourists. The literature is dominated by case study research that has assessed the impact of preventing tourism in the affected area (Isaac et al., 2019), the effect of political instability on the tourism industry (Causevic & Lynch, 2013), the opportunity for new types of tourism to emerge including dark, conflict, political, danger-zone, war (Butler & Suntikul, 2013), and the challenges of market and image recovery (Arnaud, 2016; Naef & Ploner, 2016). The latter aspects of new types of tourism emerging in a post-conflict context, the challenges in market recovery, and the value of fostering a positive destination image, are important attributes that are examined by the authors in the development of the POCTOS framework.

Post-conflict tourism development

It is important to make a distinction in this article between what scholars have termed, "immediately after conflict" (the recent past) as opposed to "long past conflict" (the distant past). Discussion in this article is on the former as the latter draws in discourse of travel to destinations where conflict occurred in the distant past (pre − 1918), where the motivation to visit is more often linked with personal heritage, nostalgia and commemoration (Miles, 2013; Winter, 2009).

Early research

This scholarly field is an emergent one with most research appearing over the past decade. Early works were very sporadic in their focus. Pirjevec (1998) was perhaps one of the earliest authors to talk about the need for a destination moving out of a war context to build a new image as a tourist destination. His research examined Croatia post the Balkans war. Hall (2003) argued, in the context of the Balkan region, that tourism policy needed to balance the rejuvenation of space, with image development and maintain a clear connection to national identity. Others examined the legacy that war left on tourism in countries such as South Korea (Young-Sook, 2006). Early attention also examined post-conflict from a heritage and cultural opportunity perspective. For instance, Evans (2001) discussed the potential of the development of a cultural agenda around World Heritage Sites at risk for post-conflict regions. Winter's (2007, 2008) seminal works explored the opportunity of post-conflict heritage in Angor Wat, Cambodia, within the context of post-colonial tourism. Research over the past decade can be grouped under a number of themes and these are addressed next.

Thematic discourse

Marketing focus

Over the past decade, attention has focused on marketing strategies with particular reference to sustainable tourism practices and the development of strategies for places that suffer from a negative image (Arnaud, 2016; Seraphin & Gowreesunkar, 2017). Arnaud (2016) placed emphasis on promoting the idyll, contrasting this with images of the memory of war in public spaces. Seraphin et al. (2020) in their research in Haiti argued that Destination Marketing Organisations (DMOs) have a critical role in connecting the Haitian diaspora to local people, through the use of food festivals. Earlier, Seraphin et al. (2018) argued that DMOs need to be more strategic in breaking down the separation that often exists between tourists and local populations in tourist enclaves. They introduced the concept of "organisational ambidexterity" where DMOs have to make decisions over choosing between consolidation that focused on the safe, known and predictable over exploitative and exploratory thinking that was more risk taking, less tried and uncertain in its outcome. Much of the recent marketing discourse that has focused on post-conflict and post-colonial contexts is known by the abbreviation (PCCDs – post-conflict and post-colonial destinations), a term coined by Seraphin et al. (2018).

Branding

Following on from early work of Pirjevec (1998), research has focused on the branding of post-conflict destinations. Vitic and Ringer (2008), writing in the context of Montenegro, advocated the benefits of green branding, embellishing the countries eco-credentials, and making use of both World Heritage sites and transboundary parks to strategically positioning itself in the Adriatic travel market as well as helping to restore the social and biological integrity that was degraded during years of conflict. Skoko et al. (2018), writing in the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina, observed that even after many decades since the conflict ended, developing a clear branding strategy remained challenging, that many of the conventional branding techniques were not suitable when multiple ethnic groups were involved. They argued for branding that focused on consensus identity embracing all ethnic groups (Bosniaks, Croats & Serbs), and developing a strategy incorporating the perceptions, attitudes and cross-communication. Branding was an integral aspect of PCCD research, especially the work by Seraphin (2018) in Haiti, where he argued that tourism development in post-conflict and post-colonial contexts can be viewed more broadly as a tool toward alleviating poverty.

Management

Research has also focused on the management of sustainable tourism in post-conflict destinations. For instance, Novelli et al. (2012) observed in their research on Burundi, Africa, which had suffered from a protracted civil war, that sustainable tourism development would be challenging. They argued that any outcomes would involve co-transformative learning and transitional justice associated with contested and dissonant heritage, and the capacity building of local peoples, all in a context of fragility. Castillo-Palacio et al. (2017), researching post-conflict Medellin, called for better decision-making of policy and interventions around planning and the promotion of entrepreneurship as the region emerged from years of turmoil linked to narco-related terrorism. Others have focused on destination competitiveness, in particular developing sustainable tourism enterprises. Favre (2017), for example, suggested that tourism bodies and authorities work with entrepreneurs to develop micro-businesses.

Niche product development

A body of scholarly activity has focused on the development of niche products in post-conflict environments. The most prominent niche has been to view post-conflict tourism as part of dark

tourism (Lennon & Foley, 2000), positioning post-conflict sites toward the darker end of the spectrum, as destinations seek to capitalise on some elements of darkness associated with its past. Stone (2006) made a distinction between what he termed visitation to sites "of" and sites "associated with" death and dying. Post-conflict tourism destinations place greater focus on the former over the latter. For instance, researchers have studied destinations that faced genocide and ethnic cleansing (Slivková & Bucher, 2017), long-term terrorism and civil unrest (Boyd, 2019; Buultjens et al., 2016), regional wars (Butler & Suntikul, 2013) or tourism development alongside threats of war, atrocities and/or occupation (Isaac, 2013). An element of dark tourism research has been labelled as phoenix tourism, as discussed in more depth later in this article.

Beyond dark tourism, a number of other special interest niches have been linked to post-conflict recovery. Events and event tourism have played a key role in transforming the negative image of a place. However, if cross-community tensions remain entrenched their potential is somewhat limited (Devine et al., 2017). Events also have a key role at the individual city level. Devine and Quinn (2019) noted in their study of the UK City of Culture 2013 programme for Derry/Londonderry in Northern Ireland that hosting events had the potential toward building social capital at a local community level. Zhang (2017) argued for a rethinking of heritage tourism in a post-conflict context, where focus was not just on what heritage is at present but what can be envisaged and how local people interpret it. Other researchers have focused on the potential of rural tourism in regions affected by protracted conflict (Teare et al., 2013). These authors, writing in the context of Sri Lanka, argued that rural community-driven tourism enabled better local capacity building and created opportunities for economic development around micro-enterprises.

Overall, we view the research community that has studied post-conflict tourism to comprise two distinct sub-groups. First, researchers who focussed on the social and economic transformation of destinations that have emerged from a conflict situation. Second, those who assigned destination recovery around a specific type of tourism, namely that of phoenix, and it is to this small body of scholarly thinking that this article now turns to.

Phoenix tourism

The Greek analogy of the phoenix has clear resonance when it comes to studying destinations that are recovering from a long-protracted period of recovery. Two possible dimensions of phoenix tourism have been developed in the literature. The type 1, where the focus is on a distinct period in post-conflict development where tourism has a reconciliatory and community healing role (Causevic & Lynch, 2011; Esteban & Bonilla, 2017). The focus of type 2 is on economic regeneration by developing tourism opportunity once enjoyed prior to conflict or where opportunity is developed beyond dark heritage spaces and attractions associated with the conflict era (Buultjens et al., 2016; Miller et al., 2017; Simone-Charteris et al., 2013).

Type 1 – a distinct early period of post-conflict tourism development

With regard to type 1, Causevic and Lynch (2011) in their study of Bosnia and Herzegovina observed that what is often on display to tourists is war memorabilia, often located in contested sites and spaces, but where that opportunity to visit is through the use of intermediaries such as tour guides. They viewed the tour guides as important for a number of reasons. First as storytellers where the narrative of the conflict was told through ordinary people (for example, the Sarajevo Tunnels are discussed from the perspective of local people using them to survive). Second, to convey a discourse that was based on messages of hope and peace. Third, where the tours themselves became part of personal catharsis, healing and wider reconciliation. According to Causevic and Lynch (2011), phoenix tourism is a form of tourism where social benefits take

priority over economic development goals, and where conflict-inherited sites are transformed into new cultural heritage spaces that become interpreted through the tour guides.

Phoenix tourism is not a label, it is the wider process of the role that tourism can play in both social and emotional catharsis as a necessary precursor to harder forms of economic tourism development. Esteban and Bonilla (2017) adopted a similar approach to phoenix tourism in their research of la Macarena (Meta) region in Colombia that had experienced intense violence at different times but where tourism had recently emerged as an important economic generator. They viewed tourism as best placed as an aid to the conflict memory building process and as a catalyst in the process of mourning within communities. Embedded in phoenix tourism type 1 is also the thinking shared by proponents of reconciliation tourism. The distinct difference is that often authors have argued that the initial motivation for cooperation is often driven by economic as opposed to social motives (Sönmez & Apostolopoulos, 2000). The affected communities have underdeveloped tourism products, and face increasing competition from more diversified tourist destinations. It is often as a result of community-driven ventures and enterprises that have helped to dissolve the barriers between divided communities and bring healing (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006).

Type 2 – tourism development linked to dark heritage of past conflict

In contrast, type 2 phoenix tourism has adopted a predominantly economic lens, where the focus has been on the development of tourism that was closely related to past conflict, either in terms of the introduction of dark heritage products or the positioning of the region for political tourism (Buultjens et al., 2016; Miller et al., 2017, Simone-Charteris et al., 2013). Van Broeck (2019) in her research on Medellin, now a transformed neighbourhood in Colombia, recounted how tour operators from outside the region are telling the past stories of conflict at the expense of local communities who were directly involved in past conflict.

Simone-Charteris et al. (2013) on Northern Ireland noted that the debate from a community perspective was one of contrast between identity and preservation of heritage and culture over economics where the region's dark past was sold as a tourism commodity. Boyd (2019) observed that Northern Ireland stakeholders adopted different positions with regard to economic opportunity. Private enterprises focused on new dark products, repackaged and re-told the past. Communities instead looked toward new economic development that showcased their unique heritage. Public sector bodies expressed preference toward positioning phoenix opportunity around past heritage capital, arguing for a renewed interest in cultural and heritage tourism opportunity to build new attractivity that would have wider tourism appeal (Boyd, 2019). Writing in the context of two post-disaster settings that of the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami and hurricane Katrina in 2005, Miller et al. (2017) viewed phoenix tourism as a definitive stage of tourism recovery and the authentic rebirth of a tourist destination involving a process of destination regeneration, rehabilitation, re-imaging and revitalisation. Strong emphasis was placed on economic development.

While the above discussion examines phoenix tourism with two contrasting perspectives, there is overlap between both types. For instance, reconciliation between communities and the normalisation of social relationships which Causevic and Lynch (2011) argued about is similar to the type of community product development that Boyd (2019) referred to where the focus in communities is not with the actual product development itself. Instead, how local communities make use of that product mix is part of community re-healing but it is also re-creating opportunity in terms of how best to showcase their heritage and culture beyond that of just a monetary value (Zhang, 2017).

Implicit within type 2 phoenix tourism thinking are wider concepts of resilience, overcoming vulnerability and being adaptive to new opportunities. These are important factors in the

development of a post-conflict tourism framework, each of which are examined when the different "opportunity factors" in the POCTOS framework are discussed.

Toward development of an opportunity spectrum for post-conflict destinations

Opportunity is making use of supply and infrastructure that is developed in any destination region, including those affected by conflict. It is equally fair to suggest then opportunity may be somewhat limited when it is considered within a post-conflict context, as much of past supply and infrastructure has been lost or damaged as a result of conflict. How a region develops new supply and infrastructure is somewhat contingent on if the focus is directly linked to elements of the conflict it has just emerged from. In examining opportunity in a post-conflict scenario, the authors see scope in adopting existing approaches from the field of resources management, especially management procedures and frameworks that place emphasis on opportunities for tourism in order to design one specifically for post-conflict settings.

Existing tourism opportunity spectrums

Opportunity spectrums have been around for more than three decades. The first to be developed was called the "recreation opportunity spectrum" (ROS) (Clark & Stankey, 1979) which explored alternative uses of forest lands in the USA for wilderness recreation. The ROS framework was modified by tourism scholars, to develop the Tourism Opportunity Spectrum (TOS) and applied to adventure travel in the Canadian Arctic (Butler & Waldbrook, 1991). TOS thinking was adapted to meet the specific requirements of specific niche types of tourism. The Ecotourism Opportunity Spectrum (ECOS) added new opportunity factors based on types of attractions and skill levels (Boyd & Butler, 1996). The ECOS framework has been used in the wider context of sustainable tourism in Taiwan (Huang & Lo, 2005) and the Samandag coastal areas of southern Turkey (Salici, 2018). Two other variants of opportunity spectrum thinking have been developed for indigenous peoples' cultural tourism (IPCOST) (Sofield & Birtles, 1996), and urban tourism (UTOS) (Jansen-Verbeke & Lievois, 1999). In the former, a step approach was utilised, whereas the latter placed emphasis on factors such as accessibility, and the spatial arrangement of attractions and service provision. As past opportunity spectrum models have evolved from their original thinking, this article proposes that a unique set of factors are needed and justified towards developing tourism opportunity for post-conflict settings.

Introducing the post-conflict tourism opportunity spectrum (POCTOS)

In developing the POCTOS, this article argues that the opportunity factors will somewhat deviate from those mentioned previously. For example, in the case of the TOS and ECOS, these were predominantly applied by scholars to nature-based settings where issues of carrying capacity, matching experience to the settings, levels of other user encounters and acceptable impacts were relevant. It is emphasised, however, that for post-conflict settings, the opportunity factors need to be much broader in scope to include the following: safety and security, perception of destination, level of attractivity, entrepreneurial climate, destination accessibility, market reach, level of investment, industry size, resilience and adaptive capacity. In many conflict-ridden destinations, tourism barely exists. As the destinations move out of conflict, new opportunities need to be realised that requires consideration of broad a range of opportunity factors to facilitate new scenarios to emerge.

In developing the POCTOS spectrum, the authors have also considered the possible trajectories that destinations may adopt as they re-develop tourism, whether that opportunity is directly connected to aspects of the conflict itself or not. Figure 1 below illustrates that two scenarios

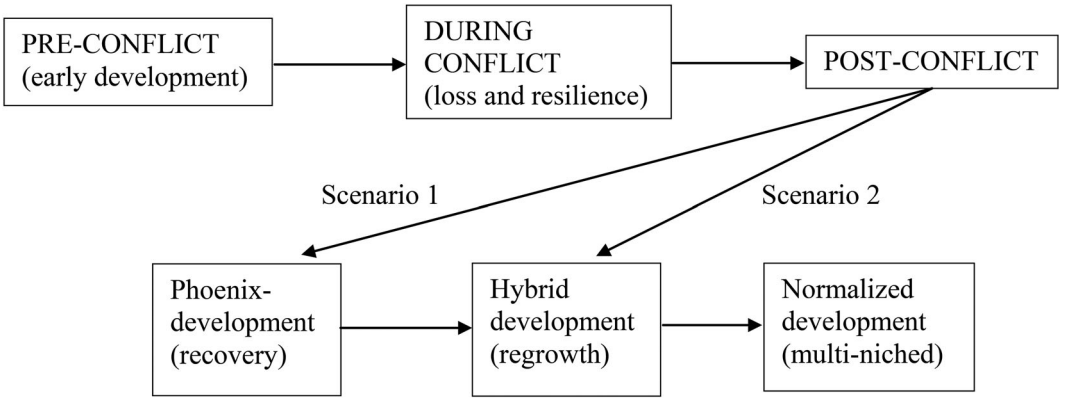

Figure 1. Development scenarios for post-conflict tourism (adapted from Butler, 2019; Reddy et al., 2020).

can potentially exist. First, those that choose to follow a distinctive phoenix phase evolve into a hybrid state of development between phoenix and a normalised mature destination. In this scenario, recovery is focused on tourism marketing and identity shaped by new dark tourism products that link closely to the past conflict as a means of healing and reconciliation. The wider tourism appeal is shaped by the opportunity to relive, through the eyes of those affected, vestiges of the past conflict. Figure 1 also charts a second scenario where the phoenix development stage is passed over in favour of developing a normalised state. This scenario suggests a development process that evolves from a hybrid state of tourism regrowth through recovery and marketing of established products (e.g. beach and coastal tourism, cultural and heritage tourism), which were lost during conflict.

Both scenarios are embedded within the POCTOS framework, where the opportunity factors are applied across a wider conflict frame including the "pre-conflict" and "during conflict" eras (see Figure 2). The nature of opportunity during the post-conflict era is often a response to what the opportunity factors resembled prior to peaceful conditions being reached. In the case of the post-conflict era, each opportunity factor looks at the change in description of each attribute as it applies across the phoenix, hybrid and normal development states.

The POCTOS framework illustrates both the potential development pathway as well as the nature of that development across a series of timeframes, "pre-conflict," "during conflict," and "post-conflict" (Phoenix), "post-conflict" (Hybrid) and "post-conflict" (Normalization). The "pre-conflict era" is representative of characteristics of what would be viewed as normal conditions for tourism development to occur, when tourism was starting out (Butler, 2019). Therefore, development is at a lower scale compared to mature destinations. In short, the pre-conflict era is representative of "early tourism development." In contrast, the "conflict era" illustrates how such early tourism development is not only curtailed, but in many cases ceases to exist, and that for tourism to survive it is dependent on the resilience of the sector where there will be inevitable infrastructural loss (e.g, attractions and accommodation provision). In short, this article suggests that the "during conflict" era is best representative by "resilience and loss." The "post-conflict era" is divided into three distinct forms of potential development. Phoenix development is evidenced by "recovery" that is closely tied to elements of the conflict itself in the form of new attractions, products and experiences. Hybrid development phase adds in "regrowth" of a predominantly past cultural and heritage base, whereas normalization introduces "multi-niched development" that is commonly associated with mature destinations that have been conflict free or where any conflict that did occur took place outside of living memory. Attention now turns to address the different opportunity factors comprising the framework with particular focus directed at the "post-conflict" recovery stage.

Opportunity Factors	PRE-CONFLICT	DURING CONFLICT	POST-CONFLICT		
			Phoenix	Hybrid	Normalised
Safety & Security	Limited to none	Real & extensive	Reduced	Reducing	Limited to none
Perception of Destination	Safe to visit, no risk	Dangerous & need to heed government advice	Fluid & changing to more positive	Positive over negative image established	Greater feeling of being safe
Attraction Mix	Established & small (heritage focused)	Natural & cultural heritage, loss of built and artificial	Dark & political tourism dominant	Cultural heritage base (inc. dark tourism)	Diversified base (events, festivals, novelty, specific projects)
Access	Establishing routes (numbers small)	Loss of route development	New routes established (national & inter-regional; some international)		Established pattern of route development
Market	Local & national	Return to local (national, visiting friends & relatives)	Local, national (holiday) growing. Inter-regional & international base		Local, national & international markets established
Investment	Low but expanding	Little to non-existent	Narrow focus	Expanding base	Extensive portfolio
Industry Size	Small & stable	Declining but some resilience. Slow growth toward peace	Elective growth around selective products & services (dark & non-dark)		Extensive growth - new businesses, partnerships, bodies, service providers
Resilience	Developing	Sector highly vulnerable with loss	Re-establishing around small base		Strong & wider based
Capacity	Limited & evolving	Capacity loss	New opportunities for adaptive change; new capacity created		Established capacity (maintained & developing new)

Figure 2. Post-conflict tourism opportunity spectrum (POCTOS) (adapted from Boyd, 2019; Butler, 2019; Buultjens et al., 2016; Castillo-Palacio et al., 2017; Causevic & Lynch, 2011; Reddy et al., 2020).

Safety, security and destination perception

The authors, in setting out the potential opportunity factors, suggest that two of these take priority over others, namely "safety and security" and "the perception of the destination" (Karl & Schmude, 2017; Vereb et al., 2020). If both factors fail to be altered in the minds of consumers, the remaining opportunities in the framework, while important, will not transform the destination as they are all interlinked. As one moves across the conflict spectrum, it is argued that "safety and security" while not a factor pre-conflict, emerges during conflict and the challenge for policy and decision-makers is to see it move from "reduced" to "limited to none." Reaching a normalised post-conflict state is equivalent to how consumers perceived the destination prior to conflict. As to the potential perception by visitors of the destination, a positive image of place is replaced by a negative and dangerous one over the post-conflict era. Considerable action is needed by key stakeholders to transform this back towards predominantly feeling safe again. What that potential return to safety may look like is illustrated in the descriptors within in the framework.

Attraction mix

Attractivity is key to any destination (Reitsamer et al., 2016; Zhou et al., 2016). In terms of attraction mix in the pre-conflict era, attractivity often capitalises on a regions' heritage capital and that during conflict what is lost is often attractions that are both built and artificial that focus on entertainment. Attractions established in a post-conflict era especially those involved in phoenix development focuses on dark and political tourism. Research has shown these to be directly linked to the conflict itself (battles, memorials, tours of affected regions, and key individuals involved in the conflict) or attractions that are a demonstration of the culture and tradition of those directly affected or involved with the conflict itself (walking tours, murals, community-based museums and heritage centres) (Causevic & Lynch, 2011; Esteban & Bonilla, 2017; Naef & Ploner, 2016). During the hybrid post-conflict development state, attractivity that the framework suggests is broadened to include those elements of heritage and culture that survived the conflict era. These also include the re-emergence of attractions around holidaymaking and the

development of special interest tourism with dark tourism taking on less importance (Slivková & Bucher, 2017). As destinations move to a normalised post-conflict development state, attractivity is broadened to new niche products, including events, festivals and the development of large-build entertainment complexes and signature tourism attractions as new visitor attractions, museums, and theme parks (Devine et al., 2017). The authors acknowledge that the framework is predominantly top-down in nature. Planners, developers and key stakeholders need to capitalise on the potential that grassroots initiatives can offer in terms of their novelty. For instance, local walking trails and community heritage museums where greater attention is paid to the role of stakeholder groups in the development of new attractions to facilitate change, either for good or bad. It is imperative that officials recognise residents and community groups as legitimate tourism stakeholders (Garrod et al., 2012).

Access and market reach

All destinations rely on having good access and effective market reach (Backer & Ritchie, 2017). In a pre-conflict era, access and market are predominantly local and regional unless wider market reach has been established overseas. Dramatic change to access and market reach occurs during the conflict era when access becomes limited to fewer routes and the market returns to being local and regional with a strong national VFR dimension (Backer & Ritchie, 2017). In post-conflict years, access can potentially grow with the development of new routes opening up, first national followed by inter-regional and international. By the time the destination is recognised to resemble a normalised state, access is shaped by a changing pattern of route development and expansion. An increasing number of competitors exist, entering or leaving the market based on route profitability but where overall access is shaped by one of overall growth of route networks and connectivity. In the early post-conflict era, the market expands to include national with some international inbound holidaymaking as well as outbound both national and international travel (Boyd, 2019). As destinations transition toward a normalised state, an increased inter-regional and international inbound market potentially emerges.

Investment

Extant research has revealed that the entrepreneurial climate shifts across the conflict spectrum (Favre, 2017; Castillo-Palacio et al., 2017; Patrick, 2019). Depending on the evolution of tourism in the pre-conflict years, the private sector is often the dominant driver of key attractions and accommodation provision for a range of markets. Boyd (2019) in the case of Northern Ireland observed that investment collapses during conflict, and it is industry resilience of internal investment that ensured a tourist industry survived to recover post-conflict. Research has revealed that early in the post-conflict era, new product development gets developed often by the private sector. It taps into a latent demand that seeks out the destination curious of the past or sharing in the wider reconciliation of the struggle communities have endured (Esteban & Bonilla, 2017; Patrick, 2019; Van Broeck, 2019). Vega Osorio (2017) viewed tourism as the best investment vehicle to get conflict parties integrated back into society. Local-level development helps reduce the risk of conflict recurrence, addressing risk factors such as inequalities of economic opportunities and distribution of resources.

As destinations move toward a hybrid post-conflict state, investment is often driven by private-public arrangements (Buultjens et al., 2016). Investment, changes across the spectrum, starting from a low but expanding base to be predominantly lost during the conflict era. Private investments return post-conflict, narrow at first around dark product development, but over time expands and becomes extensive to move beyond dark heritage products and experiences to investment in wider heritage and cultural capital. Public sector investment focuses on the recovery and development of infrastructure that survived the conflict era, and not investment connected to

the past conflict (Boyd, 2019). As regions move toward a hybrid development state, the focus has been on investment that resembles new opportunities and new products and services that are not dark or political (Arnaud, 2016; Patrick, 2019). Under a normalised development state, private sector investment is more focused on developing new accommodation stock and entertainment-based attractions. The investment by the public sector is prioritized toward upgrading of infrastructure, further product diversification including bidding for major events, the development of signature builds, and running marketing campaigns that have international reach (Boyd, 2019).

Industry size

Nevertheless, there is high degree of correlation between the final opportunity factors of industry size, sector resilience and the ability of the sector to adapt to change (Beirman, 2018). In a pre-conflict condition, the size of the tourism sector is often small and stable with resilience embedded within, with limited but evolving capacity to adapt to new conditions and opportunities. During conflict, these opportunities change, and the industry reduces in size around those elements that look to remain resilient against a wider pattern of sector vulnerability and capacity loss (Causevic & Lynch, 2013). In contrast as destinations move out of conflict, industry growth is often selective and can be focused on new elements of the industry sector developing new products around dark and political capital, where overall industry resilience is developed with capacity added by adapting to new opportunities (Esteban & Bonilla, 2017; Van Broeck, 2019). As the post-conflict era progresses, and development moves to a hybrid followed by a normalised state, the sector becomes well established with the development of new partnerships, new bodies and industry groups. The sector has broad-based resilience with capacity to establish and develop an extensive range of new products and services.

Resilience

Resilience has received considerable attention by tourism scholars as of late (Butler, 2017; Cheer & Lew, 2017; Reddy et al., 2020). It takes on many forms, engineering, ecological and evolutionary, and there are clear aspects of resilience that have relevance to post-conflict settings (Reddy et al., 2020). Two dimensions have considerable utility to the framework. First is the adaptive cycle of a tourism system subject to different periods of growth, breakdown and reorganisation (see Cheer & Lew, 2017). The framework proposes that in a protracted conflict, the initial tourism growth that existed prior to conflict is either lost or subject to considerable decline, but that vestiges of it remain during conflict to re-emerge as new opportunities. In the case of Colombia, opportunity developed around narco tourism and places linked to the key individuals within the country's past association with narcotics (Esteban & Bonilla, 2017). In destinations such as Sri Lanka, reorganisation took place through wider heritage and cultural product development, and the creation of deliberate tourism zones that focused on 3 "s" resort development (Buultjens et al.,; 2016). The second dimension is the scale of change that can occur. Lew (2014) suggested that different groups (private entrepreneurs, local and regional governments) have a different focus when it comes to resilience. In the case of Northern Ireland, Boyd (2019) noted the pace at which the private sector embraced the opportunities that arose out of conflict compared to regional and national organisations who promoted conflict heritage as part of wider cultural heritage opportunity.

Capacity

Capacity, or ability to be adaptive, is the final opportunity factor in the framework proposed. It is well recognised as an element in Holling's (2001) adaptive cycle. Not all aspects of the cycle can be directly applied to a conflict scenario. It, however, could be argued that the "growth" and "conservation" phases relate to early tourism growth with development around specific niches in the pre-conflict years. The third "release" stage of long-term disturbance in the form of conflict

triggers the industry to focus on what it can viably maintain in product development, tourism demand and tourism flows. The final "reorganisation" stage results in the development of narrow and specialised niche product development that did not exist prior to disturbance.

Adaptive capacity emerges in what new action and response is made moving between the final two stages of the cycle, and how this operates at the scale of individual communities to respond to sudden changes and overcome past vulnerability. ChienYu and ChinCheng (2016) observed how communities respond to challenges through a number of dimensions, including stability, recovery and transformation. Bec et al. (2016) noted that in overcoming vulnerability, resilience at the community level is best directed at building social capacity in order to strengthen adaptive capacity and manage changes that are sudden or set within a crises prone setting. The framework sets out that during the phoenix post-conflict state, stability, recovery and transformation operate, where attention is given over to building social capacity of local people. By the normalised post-conflict state, capacity is characterised as established, maintained with opportunity to develop new capacity.

Conclusion

Visitor management frameworks are a recognised component of a wider managerial tool kit that are available to DMMOs and tourism managers (Hall & Lew, 2009). The authors have put forward in this article the development of a framework built around "opportunities" for destinations that emerge from conflict or are in the early stages where the destination is perceived to be conflict free. A deliberately broad approach has been taken here in positioning conflict (the opposite of peace) and how the term "phoenix" is viewed from a tourism opportunity recovery perspective. The phoenix tourism literature is, at present, a small but growing body of scholarly inquiry, which some authors have viewed it as a useful descriptor of early tourism recovery that emerges from overt conflict (Boyd, 2019; Reddy et al., 2020). The conceptual framework presented in this article builds on that recent discussion, where phoenix is viewed as a transitional state, which evolves toward a more normalised state of development akin to destinations that have not experienced conflict. The potential destination characteristics, as set out in the framework are termed as "opportunity factors." A number of possible development scenarios have been proposed in the framework where the emphasis is on tourism recovery (Phoenix development), or tourism regrowth (Hybrid development) are necessary scenarios before a final state of multi-niche tourism opportunity and re-development (Normalised development) is reached.

Desktop research reveals that post-conflict destinations take on different stages of development in their recovery from conflict loss. The authors make the assertion that the recovery pathway will not be the same for all destinations and some may move directly to a Hybrid state bypassing the Phoenix state. For instance, destinations such as the Balkan countries and Sri Lanka took a deliberate top-down planning approach to regrow past products (beach tourism, cultural and heritage tourism) and regain lost markets (continental European and flyover long-haul international traffic). However, when compared to Colombia and Northern Ireland, antecedents of past conflict are imbued in tourism development and opportunity of experience in the form of narco and dark tourism and sites of memorial.

The POCTOS framework presented in this article provides researchers with a planning tool that allows for closer scrutiny of tourism development for post-conflict destinations as research that extends beyond the desktop. As such, the authors call for future research on a number of aspects of the framework. First, research is needed around the "opportunity factors" comprising the framework. These are very different to those used in other tourism opportunity spectrum thinking. Are any absent, are some not relevant, do some take on greater importance than others? Second, detailed application of the framework is needed across post-conflict destinations that have chosen different development recovery scenarios, akin to what the authors have

labelled as Phoenix and Hybrid. This is in order to test the overall utility of the framework itself but also the accuracy of description of each attribute (opportunity factor) against each development pathway scenario (Phoenix, Hybrid and Normalised). Third, the POCTOS framework, follows a life-cycle model approach which, while predominantly top-down driven, does facilitate grassroots initiatives, particularly in the attraction offer in a phoenix scenario. Is this the most useful approach for planner and developers to adopt for destinations looking toward a recovery pathway post conflict? In-depth research on post-conflict destinations is needed to ensure balance is achieved in terms of development opportunity put forward by government statutory bodies within destinations compared to community interests and local tourism initiatives.

Not all destinations enjoy a conflict-free reality. For those that do not (e.g. Jammu and Kashmir, India) and others that have emerged from a state of conflict, tourism authorities and managers need to avail of all the tools that are available to assist their planning and development. The POCTOS framework offers them a wider visitor management tool to map out possible scenarios of change and growth. It will only be useful if the framework is extensively tested and the authors put of that call for that necessary empirical work to be undertaken.

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